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ABSTRACT

The Comprehensive School Project, the benchmark in the steady trend toward diversification of the Thailand secondary school curriculum, is the focus of this paper. In the first part three stages of educational development are examined and discussed, followed by education in the present period, the 1960 national scheme of education, and the beginnings of diversifications of secondary education. Emphasis is upon examination and tentative evaluation of the major components of the Comprehensive School Project: a five year training program to educate 165 Thailand teachers in Canada in the physical and administrative organization of a comprehensive high school; the sending of advisers to Thailand; consideration of the Thailand project office as an administrative unit; and the outlook for diversification of the secondary school curricula in Thailand. Evaluations indicate that the training program successfully reached its goals, the impact of advisers was excellent, the school project office was highly functional in implementing basic changes, and that as long as diversified secondary education helps the Thai culture survive, the Thai people will incorporate it into their educational system. (SJM)

EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION IN THAILAND

Leslie R. Gue

Diversification of secondary education in Thailand in the second half of the twentieth century springs from forces unleashed with the storming and taking of Malacca in 1511 by one Alfonso d'Albuquerque of Portugal. This was the first known contact of a European with a part of what was later to become known as Siam, then Thailand. In 1511 Malacca was a vassal state of the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, and to the King of Ayutthaya, d'Albuquerque sent his envoys. To this day, no European power has ever colonized or controlled the Kingdoms of Ayutthaya, Siam, or Thailand.

This island of freedom in a sea of colonies did not remain free through isolation from the West. Indeed, young Thais were going abroad to study as early as the seventeenth century. Conscious, deliberate borrowing of Western ways began somewhat over one hundred years ago, in the reign of King Mongkut (Rama IV), the King who brought Mrs. Anna Leonowens from England to teach his children. In one of its few accurate moments, the film "The King and I" portrays Mongkut deliberating as to which European powers he should invite to become allies of Siam. Without using the label, he was exemplifying the inter-system model of social change described by Chin (1969).

According to Riggs (1966), Wyatt (1969) and Chu (1968), Mongkut's thrust towards modernization was the result of fear of further conquests of territory by European powers, especially England, who had inflicted

a humiliating defeat upon China in the Opium War of 1840. Mongkut made a practice of bringing advisers from several countries in order to avoid the stamp of any one country being too firmly imprinted on Siam. That stance persists to this day. The Thailand Official Yearbook, 1968 lists no less than sixteen countries from whom bilateral development assistance has been received since the end of World War II, to say nothing of large numbers of treaties, agreements and memberships in international councils of all kinds.

Stages of Educational Development

Thai writers identify three clear stages in the development of education in Thailand. The traditional period lasted from 1257 to 1868; the period of educational expansion, 1868 to 1931; and the present period, 1932 to this day.

As in many countries, education was traditionally the privilege and responsibility of religious orders. In Thailand, the major religion has been Theravada Buddhism. The influence of Buddhism on the fabric of Thai life, especially education, would be difficult to underestimate. An example of this is the publication of A Philosophy of Education for Thailand: The Confluence of Buddhism and Democracy (Buasri, 1970), as a response to the designation by UNESCO of 1970 as International Education Year.

In the traditional monastic school, education was available for men and boys, seldom for women. Siffin (1966) notes that in 1908 there were known to be 13,049 Buddhist temples in Thailand, with 94,000 priests and more than 150,000 novices and pupils. More than a thousand had

regular classes for teaching young boys, and 336 had organized schools. He goes on to state that temple education, although basic at best, "became the foundation of a national system of mass education in the twentieth century." (p. 102).

Gradually, contact with the West brought mission schools, the printing of books, and the learning of foreign languages.

During the second period in Thai education, known as the expansion period, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) stands as a pioneer and reformer in education and in government. Palace schools were established by him in 1871, for the express purpose of training boys for office work or the civil service. As the urgent needs of the various government ministries were felt, government schools were established in the temples or "wats". From these schools came an increasing stream of potential civil servants.

By 1887, a Department of Education was formed. In 1892 it was elevated to the status of a Ministry. Chulalongkorn, in his desire to modernize education, ordered investigations of school systems in other countries - England and other European nations, Japan, Egypt and India. Young Thais were starting to study abroad in numbers. Wyatt (1969) points out that when Chulalongkorn visited England in 1897, no less than fifty Thais, almost all of royal connection, were studying in Great Britain alone. The cost of keeping these students abroad, some for as long as twelve years, was one of the forces which promoted change in the Thai educational system. The first evidence of this was strong pressure for the teaching of English in Thailand.

Decentralization of education was begun with the order of Nov. 11, 1898, entitled, "Decree on the Organization of Provincial Education." Wyatt describes this as "a turning point in the history of Thai education and its modernization." (1969, p. 231).

As the expansion period in education (1868-1931) proceeded, several schemes of education were promulgated. Education was divided into academic and vocational streams in 1909. Four different arrangements of grades were tried, concluding with the basic 4-3-3-2 pattern which still exists. Compulsory education became effective in 1921, and was reinforced in 1935 with further legislation.

Education in the Present Period

In 1932 the absolute monarchy in Siam came to an end, to be replaced by a constitutional monarchy. With the advent of a Parliament, a sudden need was felt for greater literacy in the adult population. The lion's share of the education budget went to elementary and adult education, focussed on basic literacy. Secondary education went, almost by default, to the private schools, the largest proportion of which were in the Bangkok area.

Following the grave dislocations of education during World War II, Thailand (as it was to be known) asked UNESCO in 1948 to conduct a survey of education (Nairn, 1966). Early in 1949 Sir John Sargent and Pedro Orata conducted the investigation, based largely on Ministry of Education statistics. One of the recommendations of this report was that two comprehensive secondary schools be established as part of the Chacheongsao Pilot Project.

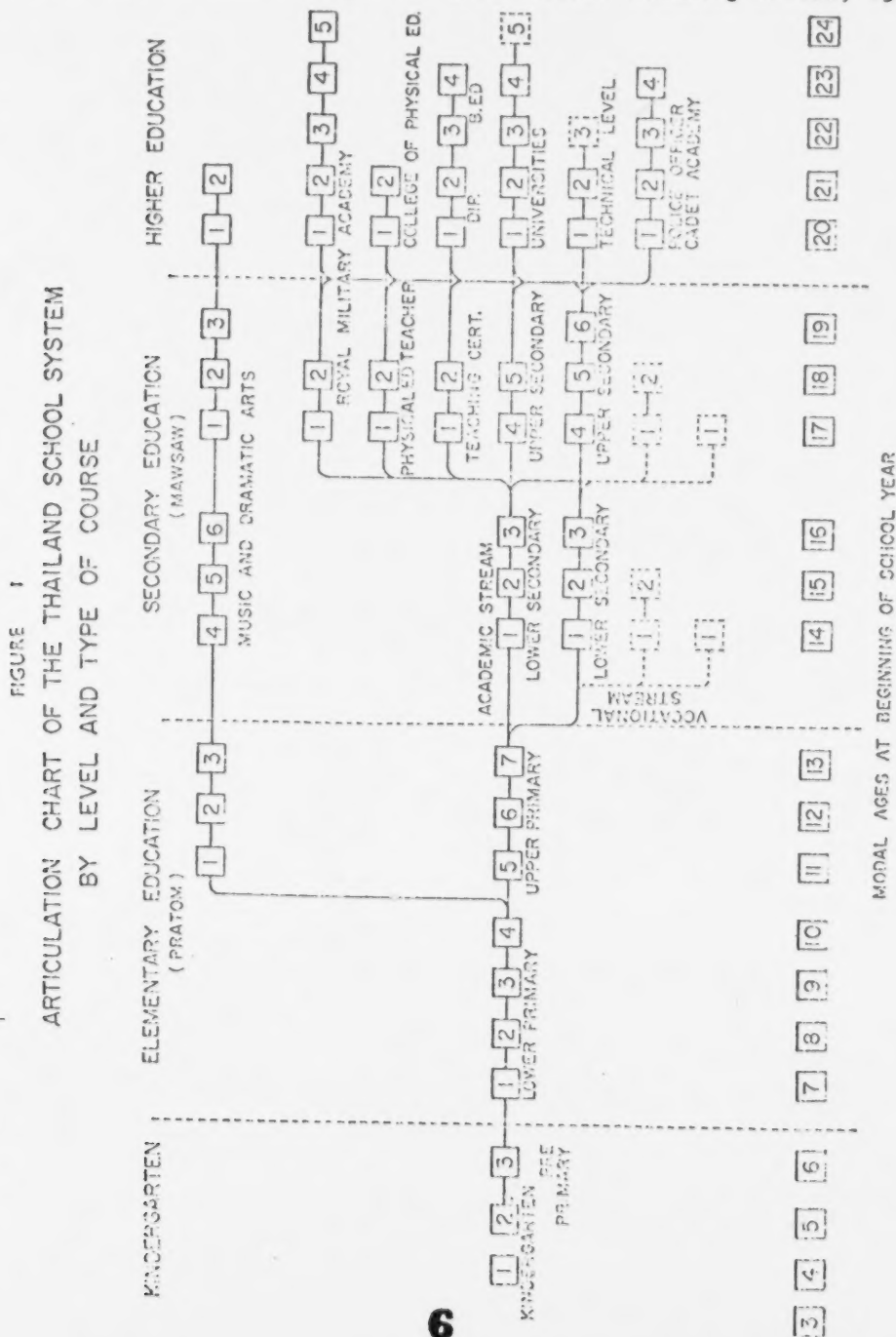
The Chacheongsao Pilot Project became a reality, under UNESCO auspices. As far as the Comprehensive School sector of the Project was concerned, varying statements emerge. The Ministry of Education (1965a) states that "The results of the Chacheongsao Project were very gratifying in the sense that average attendance was very high, and those who had gone on further had done quite well." (p. 2). Nairn (1966) states that "achievement at the Pilot Project in the formal sense, relative to the stated aims of the enterprise, was to all intents negligible (p. 127)." One fact is clear. The Project ceased when UNESCO ceased its support in 1959.

Nevertheless, the Chacheongsao Project left its mark upon Thai education. Beginning in 1960, all secondary schools were required to offer practical arts in the curriculum. Nairn (1966) also suggests that the Project assisted Thai education in four ways: demonstrating the viability of participation in lesson discussion by pupils (formerly almost absent in Thai schools); improving classroom layout and curriculum organization; increasing in-service training; and giving impetus to greater autonomy for provincial and district school systems. It also gave impetus for the 1951 and 1960 National Schemes of Education.

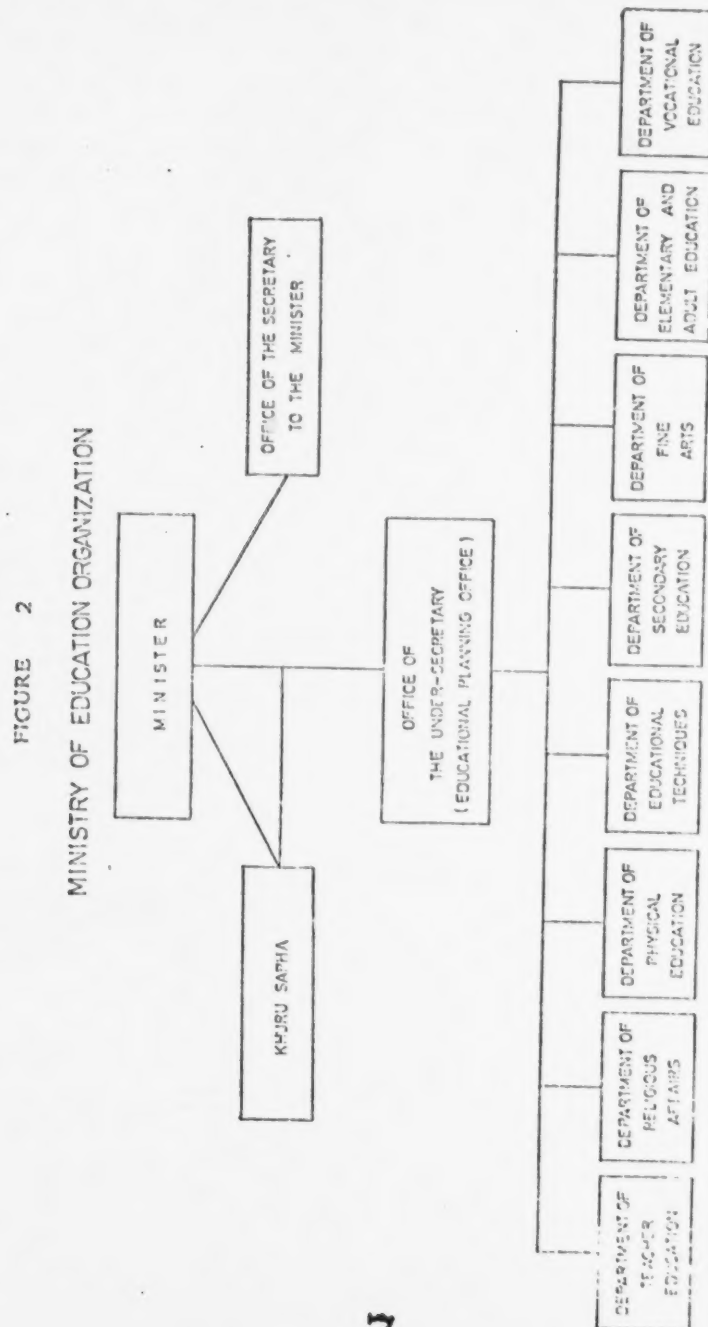
The 1960 National Scheme of Education

A pivotal change came in the organization of education in Thailand with the advent of the 1960 National Scheme of Education. This is the plan under which the Ministry operates today. In it, elementary school spans seven "pratom" grades - four years of junior grades, three years of senior grades. Secondary education is divided into lower and upper "matayom suksa" or "maw saw" grades, of not more than three grades

each. Lower secondary grades consist of Maw Saw 1, 2 and 3 (Grades 8, 9 and 10), and upper secondary, Maw Saw 4 and 5 (Grades 11 and 12). In some cases, upper secondary grades may include Maw Saw 6 (Grade 13). Higher education may be from two to five years beyond Maw Saw 6. The wide variety of routes can be seen in Figure 1 (Educational Planning Office, 1966).



Before proceeding with the discussion of the diversification of secondary education, a brief examination of the organization of the Ministry of Education will be useful. As can be seen from Figure 2, eight Departments exist with the Ministry, together with the Office



of the Secretary to the Minister, Office of the Under-Secretary (Educational Planning Office), and Khuru Sapha. The latter is a type of Civil Service Commission or regulatory body for curriculum, teacher welfare, transfers, promotions, resignations, and in-service training of teachers. The Department of Secondary Education is, then, one of the eight Departments in the Ministry of Education.

The Beginnings of Diversification of Secondary Education

Concurrently with the promulgation of the 1960 National Scheme of Education, Hon. M. L. Pin Malakul, Minister of Education, opened the first permanently established comprehensive school in Thailand. This was Suranaree Wittaya, a girls' school, now in its thirteenth year of highly successful operation. As a result of the almost instant success of Suranaree, a second comprehensive school, Rajseema, a boys' school, is now housed in excellent new buildings on a spacious site on the outskirts of Korat.

Multiple forces were at work supporting the comprehensive school movement in Thailand. As Rajseema school was commencing operation, a joint Thai-USOM (United States Operations Mission) Task Force was presenting its report entitled, "A Preliminary Assessment of Education and Manpower in Thailand." Two highly-significant recommendations were contained in this report. The first called for the establishment of an Educational Planning Office in the Ministry of Education. The second urged an intensive study of secondary education, both vocational and academic, with special reference to manpower needs. Both these recommendations were honored. An Educational Planning Office now is an

integral part of the Ministry of Education, at the senior level.

The second recommendation resulted in concerted efforts on several fronts. In 1966, two publications appeared. One was entitled Secondary Education, Manpower and Educational Planning in Thailand (Wronski and Kaw, 1966). The second, Publication Number 9 of the Educational Planning Office of the Ministry of Education, bore the title Current and Projected Secondary Educational Programs for Thailand: a Manpower and Educational Development Planning Project. (Research Committee on Secondary Education and Human Resource Development in Thailand, 1966). All of these reports represented intensive efforts on the part of Thai officials in a self-study of education and manpower, assisted by a three-man team from Michigan State University, funded by the United States Agency for International Development.

Several common strands can be seen in the reports. The first is clearly the urgency of balancing the output and the needs of Thailand for middle-level manpower. The second is concern for the future of the young people of Thailand, a country under constant political pressure from the Communist world. The response to this pressure has been alignment with the United States. This alignment involved Thailand in receiving massive foreign aid from the United States, and allowing that country to build and operate large airbases in Thailand in connection with the war in Vietnam. Thus, between the manpower needs of a country which is modernizing rapidly, and the fluid social conditions which predictably accompany massive infusions of money into a country not at war, deep concern was and is being felt over the state of the kingdom.

Hanks (1968) paints a gloomy picture of the effects of American aid on Thai society, even with exclusion of the negative moral effects which follow the establishment of large military bases. These he considers temporary.

Whether or not one accepts Hanks' analysis of Thai society as a bundle of fine golden chains of human relationships, strongly bound vertically and loosely bound horizontally, the Thai government can be said to be deeply disturbed about its own society. This concern resulted in the studies and reports mentioned above, and their focus upon education as a powerful tool to remedy dysfunction. In the words of the report of the Research Committee on Secondary Education and Human Resource Development in Thailand,

The most compelling argument that emerges from this analysis that the schools, as a major social institution in Thai society, have the dual obligation of being responsive to the predominant values and aspirations of the society in general and also act as a significant agent (probably the single most important one) for effecting social change. Fulfilling these obligations is a never ending event in any society. It requires more than superficial understanding of the social forces affecting education and an imaginative wisdom in shaping school policies in response to these forces. (1966, p. 170).

Specific analyses of social imperatives in Thailand were also presented, touching upon government, religion, economic needs, political needs, socio-psychological needs, and cultural needs. Imperative needs of youth in Thailand were also described. Some of the salient needs, presumably in order of importance, were: development and maintenance of good health, physical fitness and mental health; growth in the ability to think rationally, express thoughts clearly, and read and listen with

understanding; development of capacities, and the appreciation of beauty in nature, music, art, architecture, literature and customs; comprehension of the scientific method, the influence of science on human life, and main scientific facts; development of saleable skills, understanding and attitudes that promote intelligent and productive participation in economic life. Many other needs are mentioned. Perhaps an illuminating statement concerns the need for realization of the significance of and support for the institutions of home and family.

An interesting sequence of events is observable at this point. Although the Kaw-Wronski Report and Publication No. 9 of the Educational Planning Office were published in 1966, work had begun in October, 1965 on the implementation of the recommendations concerning comprehensive secondary schools. This sprang from another report, released in April, 1965, entitled "Program for the Improvement of Secondary Education: Comprehensive School Project." (The Department of Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, 1965b).

The Comprehensive School Project

Three recommendations concerning secondary education stand out in the reports mentioned above.

The first was that a more broadly-based curriculum be adopted to enable students to take a greater number and variety of exploratory courses. Prior to this, the preference of students (and their parents) was overwhelmingly in favor of the academic stream. Vocational schools and programs have never been popular with the Thai people for socio-cultural reasons connected with the status of technological occupations.

The second recommendation called for the co-ordination of the four existing types of secondary schools (Boy's Academic, Girl's Academic, Boy's Vocational, Girl's Vocational) into a single administrative unit, with the Department Head reporting to the Secondary Education Department. (Vocational schools are administered by the Department of Vocational Education, and Principals report to that Department).

The third recommendation was that the primary unit of secondary education be defined as the Comprehensive Secondary School. Such a school would be co-educational, with a single-track curriculum and appropriate electives. Three areas of emphasis would be present: "required courses, elective courses, and pre-vocational courses" (Wronski and Kaw, 1966, p. 43).

In order to implement the recommendations of the Comprehensive School Project Report of April, 1965, the Department of Secondary Education decided to set up a separate administrative unit. The rationale for the establishment of this unit was that educational officers and clerical staff could concentrate their time and effort exclusively on the development of comprehensive schools. The Project Office was composed of nine sections: Secretarial, Practical Arts, Academic, Guidance, Equipment, Buildings and Grounds, Finance, In-Service and Personnel. In July, 1969, seventy persons were working out of the Project Office (Thailand Report, 1966-1969).

Twenty schools had been selected throughout the Kingdom of Thailand to become part of the Comprehensive School Project. The

criteria for selection were based upon the occupational demands of the locality, space for expansion, feeder school enrolments, proximity to existing vocational schools to facilitate further education for graduates, usefulness as a laboratory school in the Supervisory Unit, and socio-political considerations. The last-mentioned referred to the ever-present threat from Communist terrorists in the "sensitive areas" of the North, the North-east and the South, and to an apparent demoralization of youth in the smaller centers adjacent to airbases. Another facet of the socio-political considerations is the common phenomenon of the young people drifting to the large cities. In Thailand's case, this was usually Bangkok. By providing high-quality education in smaller centers throughout the country, it was hoped that more of the young people would stay at home, and that the smaller centers would realize that the Government was indeed interested in districts outside the Krung Thep (Bangkok-Thonburi) metropolitan area.

The specific objectives of the Project, which included sixteen boys' schools, three co-educational and one girls' school were (1) to improve the quality of instruction and administration through in-service programs for teachers and administrators, and by the careful recruitment of qualified staff, (2) to improve physical facilities to effectively offer a diversified curriculum, (3) to reorganize the curriculum so that students might select courses appropriate to their needs and the needs of the country, and (4) to establish a center in which supervisors can do research, planning, and improvement of teaching in accordance with modern concepts of education.

In order to implement this quite ambitious plan, estimated to cost \$15,000,000 over three years (later extended to five), several needs had to be faced immediately. These were finances, buildings, equipment, professional training, and professional advisers.

At this point Thailand came to Canada, initially to determine what aid could be given for the purchase of equipment for the schools. Finally, in accordance with the recommendations of the Feasibility Study (Coutts, Reeves and Cunningham, 1966) a division of responsibilities for the implementation of the plan was agreed upon.

For buildings, Thailand would provide approximately \$14,000,000 through the regular budget of the Department of Secondary Education and a loan of approximately \$7,500,000 from the Bank of Thailand.

To help equip the schools, Canada would provide a long-term, interest-free loan of \$1,000,000 repayable over a period of forty years.

Professional training for teams of teachers and supervisors would be provided by Canada, to a total of 110 scholarships over a period of three years. This training would provide one year of study at the graduate level in the philosophy, curriculum and administration of comprehensive high schools.

Professional advisers would be provided by Canada to assist in bringing into full and efficient operation the twenty schools in the Project. Initially, this part of the plan called for a team of five advisers for a period of two years.

The remainder of this paper will address itself to an examination and tentative evaluation of the training program, the sending of

advisers to Thailand, the consideration of the Project office in Thailand as an administrative unit, and the outlook for diversification of the secondary school curriculum in Thailand.

The Training Program

The general objective of the training program was to help bring to the participants a full knowledge of the physical features and administrative organization of a large comprehensive high school, and an understanding of the spirit of the comprehensive concept and the curriculum needed to honor it.

As implemented over the initial period of three years, and the extension to five years, the training program had five clearly-identifiably components: theory concerning the comprehensive school, practicums in comprehensive and some other schools, related courses, summer language programs, and social activities. Theory and practicum concerning the comprehensive school were combined into one core course. Related courses were chosen from the participants' areas of teaching specialization, or with special reference to their future duties in the Project.

A compulsory part of the course work was limited participation in the type of teacher education given to Industrial Arts and Vocational Education teachers at the Faculty of Education of The University of Alberta. The rationale for this lay in the need to acquaint all participants, whether teachers, administrators or supervisors, with the basics of the materials, machines, processes and technologies of a productive society. It was hoped that this would enable them to better understand

the philosophy and operation of a comprehensive school.

A summer language program was conducted for the years 1967 through 1970. It consisted of intensive language laboratory study and small-group instruction. The latter was staffed by teachers from Edmonton school systems, with a number of field trips to language - stimulating settings, followed by oral and written language practice.

Social activities consisted of occasional informal events on the campus or in the homes of people in the Edmonton area, a subsidy for attendance at an event called "Banff International Christmas" in the Canadian Rockies, and "Thai Night".

From the outset, an evaluation component was included in the Training Program. Several evaluative techniques were used. The first was a rating scale completed just prior to leaving Canada and again, at least one year after returning to Thailand. Narrative comments were invited on both the initial and second administration of the rating scale. At the time of re-evaluation, in Thailand, an interview schedule was used by the Training Director to supplement the ratings on the five-point Likert-type scale and the written narrative comments.

In connection with the rating scales, it was hypothesized that a measure of the lasting value of the training program could be tentatively made by examining the consistency of the ratings on the evaluation and re-evaluation. The scale ranged from "Not Useful" to "Highly Useful" positions. Items on the scale were grouped for analysis according to major components of the program - theory, practicum, related courses, social activities, and the summer language program. A decision rule

was established that if mean ratings in any component exceeded 3.00 on both the evaluation and re-evaluation, that component of the training program would be considered to have demonstrated lasting value. Data were available for the 1966/67, 1968/69, 1969/70 groups and the evaluation part of the 1970/71 group.

Examination of Table 1 shows that all components of the training program for which data were available were rated above the theoretical mean of 3.00 on both evaluation and re-evaluation, with a range from 3.60 to 4.30. Especially interesting is the fact that nine of the fifteen component means were higher on the re-evaluation than on the evaluation, although the differences were not found to be statistically significant. Another interesting point is the very high ratings given the summer language program, and the even higher ratings given this component on the re-evaluation.

Interesting shifts occurred in the rankings of the means of components between the evaluation and re-evaluation. For example, the 1966/67 participants studying educational administration ranked theory and practicum fifth on their initial evaluation in April, 1967, first in the re-evaluation of June, 1969. On the contrary, those in the same group studying academic curriculum ranked the theory component first in usefulness in April, 1967, but fourth two years later. In the 1968/69 group, those studying industrial arts ranked their related courses first on initial evaluation, but fifth on re-evaluation.

In terms of individual items in the components of the program, means ranged from a high of 4.71 with a standard deviation of 0.49 for a visit of the 1966/67 Industrial arts group to an agricultural and

Table 1

MEANS OF STUDENT EVALUATION AND RE-EVALUATION OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM,
THAILAND COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL PROJECT, THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA ^a

Program Sector	Academic Year										GRAND MEAN	
	1966/67 N=25		1968/69 N=30		1969/70 N=25		1970/71 N=23					
	Eval.	Re-Eval.	Eval.	Re-Eval.	Eval.	Re-Eval.	Eval.	Re-Eval.	Eval.	Re-Eval.		
Ed. Adm. 504 Theory	3.97	3.86	3.88	3.92	3.95	3.90	3.85	-	3.91	3.89		
Ed. Adm. 504 Practicum	3.79	3.80	3.80	3.94	3.86	3.54	3.85	-	3.82	3.76		
Related Courses	3.82	3.75	3.63	3.85	3.65	3.73	3.60	-	3.67	3.77		
Social Activities	3.60	3.84	3.60	3.88	3.81	3.89	3.66	-	3.66	3.87		
Summer Language Program	- ^c	-	3.91	4.15	4.17	4.30	4.05	-	4.04	4.22		

^a Source for 1966/67 and 1968/69 data: Taenglian, Pratheep, "A Student Evaluation of the Alberta Training Program for the Thailand Comprehensive School Project." Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, 1972.

^b Re-evaluation by students not possible until after March, 1972.

^c - Program sector not given in these years.

vocational school, to a low of 2.66 with standard deviation of 1.23 for orientation of the 1968/69 group to computer-assisted instruction.

In sum, then, the consistency of the ratings above the theoretical mean of 3.00 on both the evaluation and the re-evaluation of the components of the training program provides considerable evidence that the participants perceived the program as being of lasting value, even taking into consideration the halo effect, especially in re-evaluation.

A second type of evaluation of the training program was carried out at an in-service seminar for administrators and supervisors in August, 1971, at Bang Saen, Thailand. Principals of the twenty schools in the Comprehensive School Project were asked to write their ideas (in Thai) of the influence of The University of Alberta's training program for the Comprehensive School Project on several sectors of education. With reference to the influence of the program on curriculum in the project schools, opinion as generally positive. Concerning the influence of the training program on teachers in the Thai schools, the opinions were uniformly positive. In answer to the query concerning influence on the Thai School System, the respondents seem to chiefly answer concerning the comprehensive school movement in Thailand. A summary of responses is found in Table 2. Examination of the table reveals the perceptions of the Principals concerning rate of change, the success of the Project Office, bureaucratic dysfunctions, the problem of phasing out the Project office, and the pragmatism displayed in waiting for results of the twenty Project schools.

TABLE 2

INFLUENCE OF THE ALBERTA TRAINING PROGRAM
ON THE THAI SCHOOL SYSTEM

Opinion	Frequency of Mention
Other schools interested in comprehensive system, want to become comp.	2
Hard to start new ideas-centralized system; conservatism	2
There is a trend toward comprehensive education - traditional system obsolete	2
Alberta program has had a lot of influence on Thai school system	1
Change from charismatic respect and loyal-type behavior to co-ordination, communication, and personal relations	1
Good example for other schools	1
Project Team well-educated, energetic, a challenge to other offices	1
Expansion requires careful layout	1
Ministry should join Secondary & Vocational Education programs	1
Red tape may emerge as Project Office fades out	1
Other schools offer as many electives as feasible	1
Other schools awaiting results	1
Education officers not informed	1
Money a problem	1
Voc. Educ. Department should be responsible for Community College	1

In summary, the findings from the participants' rating of the training program, and the Principals' opinions as to its impact in Thailand provide considerable support for the view that the training program had some success in reaching its goals. In addition, verbal statements of senior Thai officials connected with the Project indicate their satisfaction with the training sector.

The Canadian Advisers to the Comprehensive School Project

Thailand has been importing advisers from Western countries for many generations, and the eight Canadians who have served in Thailand in connection with the Comprehensive School Project followed many others who had directed their attention to the problems of secondary education. Two of the eight advisers under the Project with Canadian International Development Agency were still serving in Thailand at the time of writing. Seven of the eight were initially recruited and hired by The University of Alberta under its contract with CIDA, according to the recommendations of the Feasibility Study (Coutts, Reeves and Cunningham, 1966). These advisers were highly qualified in the fields of educational administration, academic curriculum, guidance and counselling, and industrial arts. The eighth adviser was hired to train in Thailand a mobile maintenance group to keep equipment operational in the Project schools.

From long experience, the Thai people, especially government officials, have become unusually skilful in extracting from the foreigner all useful knowledge and expertise he possesses, while at the same time tolerating his eccentricities.

The problems of foreign experts in aid programs have common strands. There may be an insistence on Western food and a lack of interest in the indigenous language or languages. There may be a disregard for the linkages of kinship or friendship, or for rank or protocol or the realities of "tea-money" as a supplement to salary. There may be the typical hard-driving motivation to "get the job done." Sometimes an acute lack of knowledge of the geography and general culture of the country are displayed. Occasionally the foreign expert is unable to develop empathy with the people of the country, especially with his counterparts. Those who avoid these traps almost always develop deep and enduring friendships and interest in the country where they have served. Hatch (1970) comments upon this in connection with the many advisers who have served in Thailand in the facets of its development. It is not without significance that the dedications of many books on Thailand single out a Thai person or persons in such a way as to indicate that lifelong bonds have been forged between Thai and farang.

The Canadian advisers to the Comprehensive School Project are no exception to the above comments. Some of the standard problems emerged, but the general impact of the advisers was apparently excellent. The detailed and thorough reporting of the Advisory Group, co-ordinated by Deane, can be found in the two Reports of The University of Alberta (1969, 1972), of the two teams. Perhaps one of the most illuminating methods of assessing the impact is considering informal comments of Project Staff and school staffs. Among the many comments

could be cited the following: "He is my driving force. He reminds me when to do things." "He is quite a person." "He is a wonderful man." "He always has alternatives to present to us in solving our problems." "He is my best friend." "You sent us good advisers." Only one of the seven recruited by The University of Alberta returned to Canada early. Opinion among Thai officials was divided concerning this adviser. Some thought the adviser was doing competent work, others were of a contrary opinion. Of the remaining six, some took time to become acculturated, but there seems little doubt that their efforts were significant in moving the Project ahead.

That this was so, with practically no formal orientation prior to serving in Thailand, is quite remarkable. It would have been less painful for the advisers, however, to have had a thorough orientation before departing for Thailand. Such orientations are now a standard part of the program of Canadian International Development Agency, through its Briefing Center. Perhaps one of the most frustrating aspects of the positions was the lack of knowledge and ability to use the Thai language, which only two of the advisers mastered to any extent.

The Comprehensive School Project Office

The establishment of the Comprehensive School Project Office in the Secondary Education Department in Thailand is an example of the use of temporary systems advocated by Miles (1964), and described by Chin and Benne (1969) as a "normative re-educative" strategy of changing (p. 43). In a country such as Thailand, where differentiation between units of the government system is very pronounced, the gathering together

in one temporary system a number of specialists in various fields was highly functional in implementing basic change. When this organizational move was accompanied by the selection of capable, dynamic and committed staff, as noted by Coutts, Reeves and Cunningham (1966), the potential for change was even further enhanced. Coutts et al suggested that these young Thai people be retained where possible for future work on the Project. In large measure this has occurred.

The functioning of the Project Office was not, however, free of fairly serious problems. Among these could be identified the enforced slow-down caused by the long delay in the availability of the loan from the Bank of Thailand. First mentioned to Canada in 1966, the loan was not finally made available to the Project until after May 27, 1971. A good deal of the delay can be attributed to the holding of elections in Thailand in 1968, for the first time in twelve years, and the necessity for the Loan Bill to be approved not only by the Bank of Thailand, but by the National Assembly. As has been noted above, the US \$7,700,000 was vital to the erection of the buildings necessary to carry the twenty Project schools to completion. The Secondary Education Department did everything in its power to provide necessary buildings, including the authorization for a considerable number of temporary buildings.

Another problem associated with the Project Office was its high visibility in the Government. Competition for places in the Canadian Training Program became intense, and other units in the Ministry of Education, and perhaps beyond, were reported as feeling their unit to be in a less-favored position. Over a period of time, it became apparent

that the need for a special "Comprehensive School Project Office" would lessen. Hints were dropped that eventually the Project Office would "fade out." At the time of writing, it is still in active operation, implementing the building, equipping and staffing plans for the remainder of the Project. The Final Report (1972) notes that it would probably be the end of the 1972/73 school year before equipment and building needs of twenty Project schools would be met. It would seem likely that the Project Office would continue in operation until that time.

Although the Project Office has been an indispensable part of the pilot effort with the twenty comprehensive schools, it suffered at times from its high visibility and somewhat favored position in the Ministry of Education. The example of vigorous change agents is never universally welcomed, and the Project Office was no exception. Temporary systems may provide the necessary impetus for organizational change, but they are delicate and vulnerable. They also possess the double-edged sword of creating high personal involvement in their goals, and threats to a temporary system create considerable agitation among its members. Interestingly enough, such agitation spread to the Canadian advisers when the possible phasing out of the Project Office was first mentioned. However, since the ultimate goal of the Ministry was to use the diversified curriculum in all secondary schools in Thailand, the dissolution of the Project Office as a separate administrative unit was inevitable.

Miles (1964) discusses the limited life-span of temporary systems, and the values accruing therefrom. It is doubtful if the life-span of the Comprehensive School Project Office was spelled

out at the commencement of the Project, and varying expectations of the staff might then have caused some anxieties.

Diversification of the Secondary School Curriculum

In spite of the socio-political problems associated with the Comprehensive School Project since its inception in 1965, little doubt exists that it has had a profound influence on secondary education in Thailand. One hundred sixty-five Thai educators came to Canada over a period of five years to study at the Graduate Diploma or Master's level in preparation for future responsibilities in comprehensive schools. Of these 165, 127 are employed directly in Project schools, the Project Office, the supervision of these schools, or pursuing further studies, as of January, 1972. Nineteen others are working in non-Project schools, some of which will be using the diversified curriculum in the future. Five are now on the academic staff of universities in Thailand. Altogether, 155 are actively engaged in the educational system of Thailand.

A wide range of electives is now available in many of the Project schools (and others), partly as a result of the equipment purchased by Canada for the Project schools.

Organization of a comprehensive school is now understood and practised by a considerable number of senior administrators, supervisors and officials in the Ministry of Education, largely as a result of the diffusion of knowledge in this field by the Canadian advisers. This process of diffusion has extended far beyond the boundaries of the twenty Project schools.

Enrolments in the twenty Project schools have increased steadily.. Many of the schools have long waiting lists of applicants for places. A Ministry directive in 1969 increased the maximum classroom load from 35 to 45 pupils. A follow-up study conducted in July, 1970, of graduates from the first six schools in the Project indicated that 32% were continuing academic studies in comprehensive schools, 8% in other schools; 17% were attending government vocational schools, 6% private vocational schools; 10% were following teacher training or nursing programs; 2% were working, and 24% were at home or in unknown occupations. In sum, 74% of the 1,639 M.S. 3 graduates of March, 1970, were continuing their education in July, 1970 (Final Report (1972)).

From the long sequence of events noted in this paper, it is evident that Thailand has been moving steadily towards a diversification of its secondary school curriculum since the Sargent-Orata UNESCO report of 1949. The Comprehensive School Project, to which considerable attention has been paid, might be said to be a benchmark in the trend towards diversification. An interesting cross-cultural linguistic snag appeared with the word "comprehensive." The closest Thai translation is the word "mixed". Substantial misunderstanding of the nature of the goals and organization of the schools resulted, as many well-informed people thought they were merely co-educational schools. Consequently, the Ministry of Education now refers to "schools with the diversified curriculum", a term which in many ways is superior to "comprehensive."

In his follow-up of the study of Secondary Education in Thailand conducted by Thai personnel and U.S. consultants from Michigan State

University, Hatch (1970), discusses the implementation of the recommendations of the study committee. These were contained in the report Current and Projected Secondary Education Programs for Thailand: A Manpower and Educational Development Planning Project (1966). With reference to the Comprehensive School Project, Hatch states: "It is here that many of the recommendations of the study of secondary education are being implemented and may well be the springboard for implementation in all of secondary education in Thailand." (1970, p. 17).

Possibly the strongest evidence of the diversification of the curriculum in secondary schools in Thailand is found in the fact that there are now six "associated schools" in Bangkok or nearby using the diversified curriculum, and looking to the Comprehensive School Project Office for expertise. Thirty-eight other schools throughout the country have been identified as ready for inclusion in the diversified curriculum fold in the next five years. The 1966-1971 Five-Year Plan states that diversification of the secondary school curriculum was national policy. It was expected that by 1971, 252,330 students would be attending government secondary schools. If the proportions attending public and private schools continue as reported for 1967 (Office of the National Education Council, 1969), a slightly larger number would be attending private secondary schools. These private schools are unlikely to have the funds to diversify their curriculum, which is largely academic.

The Outlook for the Diversification of Secondary Education

In the present troubled times in Southeast Asia, including the suspension of the National Assembly of Thailand in 1971, it would be

easy to be pessimistic about continued adoption of the expensive diversified curriculum for secondary schools. It would be easy until some of the underlying currents of Thai life and personality were considered. Perhaps the deepest of these can be stated in no better words than those of King Chulalongkorn the Great in 1898:

I have convinced myself in Europe of the great benefit which Asiatic nations may derive from the acquisition of European science, (but) I am convinced also that there exists no incompatibility between such acquisition and the maintenance of our individuality as an independent Asiatic nation.
(Bangkok Times, 26 Jan. 1898, cited by Wyatt, 1969, p. 232).

In the face of serious political unrest, a very high birth rate, urbanization, diminishing income from American expenditures for the war in Vietnam, and rising expectations of the Thai people, Thailand sees economic and cultural development and a measure of industrialization as the route to survival. And to the Thai, few things, if any, are closer to his heart than survival of the Kingdom, with its monarchy, Buddhism, language and customs - and the sum of all these, "the Thai culture." This is not the abstraction of the anthropologist, but a real, felt, spiritual entity to the Thai. Its symbols are found in such Thai words as griengchai and sanuk. Griengchai might be said to include respect and concern for the well-being and comfort of others. Sanuk describes the feeling in a situation where everyone is interacting in a harmonious, happy way. These are but two examples of the currents that run in the Thai culture. As long as diversified secondary education will help the Thai culture to survive, in freedom, the Thai people will find ways to enshrine it permanently in their educational system.

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